

been used contemporaneously with each other. The probability therefore is, that these earthen tombs may perhaps be as widespread as the megaliths are known to be. Those buried in these ancient Indian jars could only have been placed in a sitting posture, similar to that practised by certain modern burying castes. It is certainly curious to find the same jars and a similar custom at the present day in Africa. A wider investigation might reveal a more widespread practice still prevailing in other countries.



The Mother of Jahángír.—By MAHÁMAHOPÁDHYÁYA KAVIRÁJA SHYÁMAL DÁS, M. R. A. S., F. R. H. S., *Court Poet and Historian, Udaipur.* Translated from the *Hindí* by BÁBÚ RÁM PRASÁD.

“It is curious that there should be any uncertainty about the name and family of Jahángír’s mother,” is the opening line of a paper by H. Beveridge, Esq., C. S., published in the Bengal Asiatic Society’s Journal, No. 3 for 1887, page 164.

A careful perusal of the paper, instead of removing the *uncertainty*, gives rise to several fresh doubts and suspicions, which shall be treated in this paper, in the order in which they occur.

Q. 1. Was Jahángír’s mother a Hindú lady?

This question must be answered in the affirmative, and of this reply proofs are given below.

Q. 2. Was *ignorance* or *prejudice* the reason why the Muhammadan historians did not record the name of Jahángír’s mother?

There should be no wonder if they were guided by religious or national prejudice in withholding her name from their works, few of which are totally free from prejudice—a fact that needs no confirmation.

Q. 3. Was a Jodh Báí Jahángír’s mother?

No. The only lady of Jodh’pur wedded to Akbar (Jahángír’s father) was *Rukmáwatí*, the daughter of Ráo Mall Dev by his concubine* Típú. She had been given away in marriage to Akbar by Chandra Sen, the son of Mall Dev; and *she had no issue*.

Another Jodh’pur princess Mán’matí, the daughter of Motá Rájá Udai Singh, was married in the Samvat year 1645 (A. D. 1588) to Jahángír himself, who named her *Jagat Gosáyin* or ‘Mistress of the World.’ Prince Khurram, afterwards the emperor Sháh Jahán, was born of her.

* The Hindú Rájás had no scruple in giving away girls of illegitimate birth in marriage to the Muhammadan emperors, who had not the least objection to accepting matches of this nature.

Q. 4. Was a sister of Pahár Khán, uncle of Rájá Mán Singh and a brother of Bhag'wán Dás, the mother of Jahángír?

No. I second the statement of my learned friend Mr. Beveridge, that, granting a sister of Pahár Khán was in Akbar's haram, she was not Jahángír's mother.

Then, as regards Pahár Khán himself, Rájá Bhag'wán Dás (of Jaipur) had no brother of that name, as none of the eight sons of the latter's father, Rájá Bhár* Mall, bore it. Perhaps by the word *brother*, Jahángír meant only a *relative*; as relatives of the Ráj'púts, removed even by ten generations, are called *brothers*.

Q. 5. Was Jahángír's mother (a) the daughter or (b) the granddaughter of Bhár Mall?

(a) Jahángír's mother was the elder daughter of Rájá Bhár Mall Kachhwáhá of Amber (Jaipur). She had been married to Akbar, according to Abu-l-Fazl,† at Sámbar in H. 969 (A. D. 1562).

Like Abu-l-Fazl, the other Muhammadan authors have, through prejudice, omitted the name of this lady in their narrative of Jahángír's birth.

But Munshí Suján Rái who is considered a reliable authority by the Persian authors, and most likely derived the information relating to Jahángír's birth from the contemporaries of Akbar and Jahángír, plainly says in his *Khuláṣatu-t-Tawárikh*.‡ that Jahángír was born of the daughter of Rájá Bhár Mall Kachhwáhá, in H. 977 (A. D. 1570), which is also the uniform statement of the *Mirát-i-Aftáb Numá*,§ the *Siyaru-l-Mutakhirín*,|| and the *Tárikh-i-Rashídu-d-dín Khání*.¶ The historians of Ráj'pútáná likewise agree in stating Jahángír to have been born of an Amber princess.

(b) The granddaughter of Bhár Mall (and daughter of Bhag'wán Dás) was married to prince Jahángír, and their nuptials were celebrated with great pomp and splendour by Akbar. Prince Khusrau was the result of the union.

Jahángír writes in his Memoirs that, when this Begam committed suicide by swallowing a dose of opium at Alláhábád, he married another

* In the paper under discussion the form *Bihárá Mall* is an error. Trans. [What proof is there for this statement? ED.]

† Akbarnáma, Vol. II, p. 198. The page in the Bib. Ind. edition is 157.

‡ MSS. p. 221. Written in the 40th year of 'Alamgír's reign H. 1107 (A. D. 1697).

§ MSS. p. 216. Written in the 45th year of Sháh 'Alam II.'s reign, H. 1225 (A. D. 1811), by Sháh Nawáz Khán Háshimí of Delhi.

|| Luck. Ed. p. 116. Written in H. 1195 (A. D. 1781) by Munshí Sayyid Ghulám Husain.

¶ p. 71. Hyderabad, 1880 A. D. By Munshí Ghulám Imám Khán.

Jaipur princess, the daughter of Jagat Singh (son of Mán Singh and grandson of Bhag'wán Dás).

Q. 6. Jahángír's mother was not a Hindú lady, but a Muhammadan, the widow of Bairám Khán.

This affirmation is contradicted by the statements made in answering the last question.

The widow of Bairám Khán, named Salímah Sultán Begam, was a very intelligent lady, possessing many virtues and accomplishments;* she had certainly been married to Akbar, and was the most distinguished of his wives, as Mr. Beveridge says, and commanded the respect of all the ladies in the zanána: but the lady, who had the honour of giving birth to Jahángír, was a Jaipur princess—a princess, Hindú by origin.†

Q. 7. Was Núr Jahán entrusted by Jahángír to Ruqiyah Begam or to Salímah Sultán?

Núr Jahán, when brought to Court after the assassination of her husband Sher Afgan, was kept in the charge of *Ruqiyah Begam* (the daughter of Mírzá Hindál, one of Bábar's sons), the Begam of Akbar, next to Salímah Sultán in respect.

Q. 8. Is the word *Ruqiyah* or *raqabah* in the *Iqbálnáma*?

The *Iqbálnáma*‡ has the word *Ruqiyah*, the name of the daughter of Khalífah 'Alí, cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet—which being regarded as a blessed one, is given by the Moslems to their daughters.

The word *raqabah*§ would make no sense in the passage in question.

Q. 9. What is the correct meaning of the words *wálidah sabab-i-khesh*?

This expression does not mean “own mother,” but a lady regarded as a mother for some reason (*sabab*).

Q. 10. What authority is there for the statement that Salímah had adopted Jahángír, after his own mother's death?

Salímah Sultán was considered the guardian of Akbar's zanána, and all the children of Akbar and Jahángír were tended by her: it was for this very reason that she mediated on Jahángír's behalf, when he had fallen out with Akbar, and brought him to Court from Alláhábád. Jahángír regarded her as his mother, and she in turn looked upon

* The *Mirát-i-'Alam* and the *Tárikh-i-Khurshíd Jáhí* give the details of her noble attributes. Her metrical compositions were signed *Makhfí* (*hidden, anonymous*).

† It was impossible that a Hindú lady could, when married to a Muhammadan king, continue a *Hindú*, at least in the eyes of the Hindús; in that sense, it can be said that Jahángír's mother was *not a Hindú lady*. Trans.

‡ Lucknow Ed. 1870, p. 529.

§ Evidently there is a misprint in the *Bib. Ind. Ed.*, the letter **ي** having lost a dot, we read *raqabah* (**وقبه**), instead of *ruqiyah* (**رؤيعة**). Trans.

him as her son. But it should be borne in mind that there was no system of adopting children among the Muhammadans, if the word *adoption* is taken in its *legal* sense.

Q. 11. Can there be any doubt that Salímah was Jahángír's mother?

Salímah was only a step-mother of Jahángír. His own mother was the daughter of Bhár Mall.*

Q. 12. Was Sháhzáda Khánam, the daughter of Salímah Sultán, Jahángír's full sister?

As Salímah Sultán was not Jahángír's *own mother*, her daughter was not his *full sister*.

Before concluding this paper, I must criticise a statement of Abu-l-Fazl, implying flattery to the Muhammadan emperors. He says that, a certain Hindú Rájá *offered* his daughter in marriage to the emperor Akbar, beseeching His Majesty to honour him, by keeping her in his haram.

This statement is totally incorrect. The Hindú Rájás did not give away their daughters voluntarily to the Muhammadan emperors; the origin of the practice is given in the following paragraphs.†

When Humáyún had been expelled from India by the Paṭhán Sher Sháh Súr, and in his flight reached Irán, he was taken to task by the Persian king Tahmásp, that he could not have lost his hold on India, had he been prudent enough to have contracted marriage-ties with the Hindú Rájás, as Bábar had done. In that case, he said, the Hindú Rájás would have assisted him in times of need.

Humáyún perceived the value of the important political dodge suggested by Tahmásp, and was determined to act up to its very letter, on his return to India, but he died no sooner than he returned.

His son Akbar was fully alive to the advantages likely to accrue by adopting such a policy; and once he told Rájá Bhár Mall, that the relatives of the Imperial family, equal to them in rank and nobility, had been left in Turkistán, and it would be a good thing if the Hindú Rájás, belonging to ancient independent royal families, were to contract marriage relationship with the imperial household.

Rájá Bhár Mall, looking upon it as objectionable, on religious grounds, for Hindú Rájás to marry Muhammadan princesses, preferred the alternative of giving his daughter to the emperor in marriage, as stated by Suján Rái.‡

* Vide ante Q. 5.

† [It would be interesting to know the Kaviráj's authority for his statements in those paragraphs regarding Tahmásp's advice and Humáyún's and Akbar's attitude towards it. ED.]

‡ See Q. 5 of this paper.

In his Memoirs, Jahángír says that he solicited the hand of the daughter of Jagat Singh Kachhwáhá, son to Rájá Mán Singh of Jaipur, but his suit having been rejected by Ráo Bhoj of Búndí, the girl's maternal grandfather, he had a mind to return from Kábul to India, to punish the Ráo for his insolence, who, however, was dead before Jahángír's return.

When the Búndí Rájás threw off the allegiance to the Maháránás of Udaipur and entered into the Imperial service in S. 1625 (A. D. 1568), they had made a contract with Akbar, not to marry their daughters to the Moslem emperors; and like the Udaipur House they looked down upon those Rájás who had done so; and it was for this reason that Ráo Bhoj objected to his granddaughter being made a Begam.

Summary.

An attempt has been made in this paper to show that Jagángír's mother was a lady, Hindú by origin, having been the daughter of Rájá Bhár Mall of Jaipur; that Salímah Sultán was Jahángír's step-mother, and that the Hindú Rájás did not offer their daughters voluntarily to the Muhammadan emperors, but they gave their daughters, when solicited by the emperors, to contract marriage ties with them.

Remarks on the above paper.—By H. BEVERIDGE, ESQ., C. S.

I am very glad that the subject has been taken up, and I am much obliged to Kaviráj Shyámál Dás for pointing out that the *Khuláshatu-t-Tawárikh* gives Bihárá Mall's daughter as the mother of Jahángír. The question is, if this is a sufficient authority. The *Khuláshatu-t-Tawárikh* has not, I believe, ever been printed, but the MS. in the Society's Library is in accordance with the Kaviráj's statement. Munshí Subhán Rái (the name given him by Elliot) wrote at the end of the 17th century, in the time of Aurangzáb and some seventy years after Jahángír's death. He is therefore not a contemporary historian, and we do not know whence he got the fact about Bihárá Mall's daughter. According to Colonel Lees, Subhán Rái is a good writer, but Sir Henry Elliot speaks very disparagingly of him. Many, however, may think his statement sufficient to determine the point. The other authorities, quoted by the Kaviráj, do not, I think, strengthen Subhán Rái's evidence, as they are very modern. Ghulám Husain Khán, the earliest of them, wrote about a century ago, and his statement seems to have been merely copied from